

PA PEACE NEWS

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WAGING PEACE *

By Sir Richard
ACLAND

BRITAIN is drifting to destruction and defeat.

Destruction, because no serious observer could put the odds about nuclear war in 1959 at anything better than fifty-to-one against. This corresponds fairly well with our feelings of relative immediate security. But fairly good chances that the nuclear war probably won't happen in 1959 or 1960 or 1961 create in the end an appallingly bad chance that it probably will happen some time in the coming century.

Defeat, because we now have to meet a challenge for which there is no precedent in history. It is directed against us not only at the military, but at the economic, political and social level at the same time. Far too many people talk and think and feel as if military weapons were the only things that we have to take into account as we try to fit ourselves to meet the Communist challenge.

Policy and risk

If we were now engaged in military war against the Communists with the weapons and strategy of 1914-18, so that an entrenched battle line stretched from Baltic to Mediterranean, and if this line were being steadily driven back, say, at an average rate of a hundred miles a year, we

THE ISSUE FOR LABOUR

An Editorial

THE H-BOMB SHOULD BE THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE WHICH BEGINS ON MONDAY; IT IS CLEAR FROM THE NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED THAT THE CONSTITUENCY PARTIES WANT THIS.

The official campaign launched by the Labour Party Executive to end nuclear tests was obviously more concerned with ending the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Both the Party leadership and the leaders of the Trade Unions would prefer to regard the issue as settled.

They should not be allowed to do so. If they do, it will probably mean the end of the Labour Party as a genuinely radical party.

We can now see how a commitment to war (particularly nuclear war) has sapped the moral energy of the Labour movement. As the Labour Party became more committed to the cold war and as the H-bomb has become the most important weapon in that cold war, the 1945 promise of building a new world has declined into the desperate pursuit of "moderation" and the "floating vote."

This acceptance of the H-bomb has more than anything else undermined the moral appeal which has been the traditional basis of the best of British socialism.

At the last Labour party Conference many references were made to Keir Hardie.

These references were more than a nostalgic recalling of a great figure in the history of British socialism. They were an appeal for a return to the moral concern symbolised by Keir Hardie. Bertrand Russell has expressed his sense of this in his preface to Emrys Hughes' "Labour and the H-bomb."* He has written

"I can remember the first arrival of Keir Hardie in the House of Commons. His fervour and uncalculating advocacy of what he thought right created a large party of

30 WAIT TO SEE PENNEY



in history. It is directed against us not only at the military, but at the economic, political and social level at the same time. Far too many people talk and think and feel as if military weapons were the only things that we have to take into account as we try to fit ourselves to meet the Communist challenge.

Policy and risk

If we were now engaged in military war against the Communists with the weapons and strategy of 1914-18, so that an entrenched battle line stretched from Baltic to Mediterranean, and if this line were being steadily driven back, say, at an average rate of a hundred miles a year, we would be thinking of almost nothing else. All public attention would be focussed on it. Every newspaper and every serious citizen would be anxiously discussing the prospects. But none of this happens when we are steadily falling back on the economic, social and political front. Hardly anyone even considers the ways in which we might do better.

If these dangers are to be met, Britain must have a policy adequate to them.

Abandonment of nuclear weapons is the first essential of such a policy.

This involves risk, but it is not possible to make a choice which does not involve risk. The policy of our leaders is as much a choice as any other policy. And it is the policy most likely to lead to death for our people and for their ideals.

Nuclear war

The pre-war years should have warned us of this, for the lesson of the 1930's is just this: that our leaders by their timidity eventually brought us to almost certain destruction.

In 1939 they led us into a war which we were bound to lose. The fact that in the end it also chanced that we emerged with military victory does not affect the judgment. But it will be our stupidity, not theirs', if we allow them to do the same sort of thing all over again.

We must learn the lesson of the 'thirties, take our eyes off the next couple of years, look right down to the end of the course which we are pursuing now, and have the courage to see, unflinchingly, that it is leading us either to almost certain destruction in nuclear war, or to defeat in the cold war, or to both.

What are the implications of abandoning

● ON PAGE FIVE

*Abridged from the book by Sir Richard Acland being published under this title on Monday by Frederick Muller. 13s. 6d.



PA photo, courtesy News Chronicle.

Some of the thirty picketers outside Aldermaston on Monday morning. Left are Dr. Donald Soper, Harold Steele and Pat Arrowsmith. Right: April Carter.

Most of them were planning to stay in the Atomic Weapons Plant car park day and night until 6 p.m. to-morrow in an endeavour to see the Director or his deputy.

"We hope to show the Director the strength of our belief that he personally has a great deal of responsibility for the work on weapons of mass destruction that is carried out in the establishment of which he is head," said April Carter, Secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, last week.

"The plant is kept going by the money we, as taxpayers give to the Government; and as the work carried on in our name within the plant is likely to affect the future of thousands, not only in this country, but throughout the world, we feel that we who represent hundreds all over Britain should have the opportunity of putting our point of view to the head of the establishment."

After being warned that they could be arrested and charged under the Official Secrets Act they were allowed to remain.

Dr. Donald Soper and Michael Randle (Chairman of the Direct Action Committee) appeared on TV news on Monday. Reports appeared in all the London newspapers with the exception of the Daily Sketch. The full story of the Aldermaston Picket will appear in Peace News next week.

were an appeal for a return to the moral concern symbolised by Keir Hardie. Bertrand Russell has expressed his sense of this in his preface to Emrys Hughes' "Labour and the H-bomb."* He has written

"I can remember the first arrival of Keir Hardie in the House of Commons. His fervour and uncalculating advocacy of what he thought right created a large part of the momentum which gave rise to the power and success of the Labour Party. If the Labour Party is going to condone abominations in order to win a point in arguments of realpolitik with tough Russians and Americans it will lose all the force which has given it life."

Loyalty to what?

Calls to loyalty and a closing of the ranks in face of face of a possible general election can be expected.

Those—and they are many—who regard the Labour Party as something more than a political vote-getting machine will feel the call of a more compelling loyalty: their loyalty to the sense of human brotherhood that brought them into the movement.

Mr. Bevan has described the advocates of unilateral nuclear disarmament as "enemies of the working class." Let it be made plain to Mr. Bevan and to all those who agree with him that it is they who are enemies not only of the working class but of all the best that the working class movement has stood for.

*Peace News, 6d.

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THE JAPANESE MOVEMENT AGAINST A- AND H-BOMBS

By Robert S. Vogel

The following is an extract from a report by Robert Vogel, a staff member of the American Friends Service Committee, Pacific South-West Region, who attended the Fourth World Conference of the Japanese Council Against A and H-bombs.

THE peace movement in Japan has an amazing degree of popular support. But its roots are emotional and to an increasing degree politically partisan.

The movement was given stimulus by the horrors of war, by the A-bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, by Japan's complete disarmament, and by the constitutional renunciation of war. To give focus and expression for the deep yearnings that there be no more Hiroshimas, the Japan Council Against A- and H-bombs was organised first as a national, then a regional, and now an international body. During the past few years the movement has concentrated on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

One hundred and twenty delegates from 34 nations participated in the World Conference on A- and H-bombs. It soon became obvious that the 4th World Conference would again be heavily pro-Communist. The heaviest representation were the members of the World Peace Council and the Peace Committee of the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, etc.

Only capitalists guilty

The Afro-Asian countries composed the next largest bloc. Then there were scattered representatives from North and South America. Representatives who approached the conference from a humanitarian and moral point of view were few and scattered.

The little group of pacifists challenged the Conference at many points. The one-sided attacks on the United States and the United Kingdom (e.g. the "capitalist, Wall Street warmongers") were filled with hate and bitterness.

In an effort to relieve tensions and reconcile some differences the pacifists sought out various delegates for informal visits. These included a luncheon with four mem-

per and discussion with delegates from seven neutralist countries; and many informal talks with other delegates and observers.

Although all delegates loudly proclaimed their desire for peace, and their opposition to war, the Marxists concluded that capitalism alone was guilty for war, and that peace could only be secured by the defeat of capitalism, and by war, if necessary. The delegates from nations striving for their independence felt that their oppressors—the colonial powers—are solely responsible for present and future wars. The delegate from the UAR reminded me that the United States had gained its freedom through the Revolutionary Wars, then, "Why deny a revolutionary war to us?"

Stopping H-Tests

The failure of the United States and Great Britain to follow the lead of the USSR in stopping tests, and the announcement during the conference that Great Britain planned another series of tests in the Christmas Islands, and that Swiss missiles, ordered by Japan's Self-Defence Forces, were being landed in Yokohama lent further fuel to the highly emotional tone of the meetings.

At the same time, the Conference received greetings from N. Khrushchov and from the Communist Chinese newspapers. And shortly after the Conference closed, Dr. Kaoru Yasui, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Japan A- and H-bomb Council left for Moscow to receive the Lenin Peace Prize.

The 11-point Declaration that came out of the Conference was not unexpected. The first six points called for the elimination of nuclear tests, the nuclear arming of troops because it is the duty of mankind "to prevent self-destruction and promote co-existence," a duty that "originates in the deep reverence for life and the desire for the preservation of the family of man." In the fifth point the Conference demanded "the prohibition of nuclear armament and the establishment of atom-free zones." As a guarantee against threat of attack, the Conference demanded "a pledge of non-use of such weapons (nuclear only—Ed.)

attempts by Soji Okada, chief of the International Bureau of the Japan Socialist Party and head of its delegation, and by Paul Sekiya, secretary of the Japan Fellowship of Reconciliation, to protect the integrity and reputation of the Japanese movement by introducing more impartial resolutions and by striking out the politically-loaded ones. These efforts were defeated by the skilful use of parliamentary rules to control discussion and the tremendous power assumed by the Conference Steering Committee.

It will be most difficult to restore the movement to its original humanitarian, non-partisan form unless Western leaders invest money and persons in this or a deeper effort. Although it is virtually impossible to discover the sources of support for the World Conference, a large percentage of the 52,000,000 yen budget (about £47,000) come from the Communist countries. One-half comes through Sohyo, the largest Labour federation in Japan, and dominated by Marxist leadership. On the expense side, half of the budget goes to pay the travel of foreign delegates; the other half for conference administration.

Future of the Movement

This year, although the Peoples Republic of China could not get Japanese visas, its representatives made contributions to the Conference and to the relief of A-bomb victims. The backers of the Japan A- and H-bomb Council include the small and faction-ridden Japanese Communist Party, the left wing of the Socialist Party, Sohyo, and some intellectuals.

The Buddhist pacifist group, "Nihonzan Miohoji," which claims to be the spiritual inheritors of Buddha and Gandhi, and which organised the World Pacifist Conference in 1954 in Japan, is not active in the Council. Neither are the small Christian peace groups: the YWCA, the Japanese Christians Peace Association, the Japanese Fellowship of Reconciliation, or the historic peace churches. The National Christian Council needs some help if the peace question is to be made central to the message and work of the Church in Japan.

The future of any peace movement in Japan will be influenced in some measure

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next largest bloc. Then there were scattered representatives from North and South America. Representatives who approached the conference from a humanitarian and moral point of view were few and scattered.

The little group of pacifists challenged the Conference at many points. The one-sided attacks on the United States and the United Kingdom (e.g. the "capitalist, Wall Street warmongers") were filled with hate and bitterness.

In an effort to relieve tensions and reconcile some differences the pacifists sought out various delegates for informal visits. These included a luncheon with four members of the USSR delegation; a buffet sup-

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Vote withheld

Then the Declaration departed from the theme of the conference to (1) oppose military bases in foreign territories and the setting up of military blocs, but only specified the Middle East; (2) demand that the independence of all nations be fully respected, but only specified Algeria; and (3) demand the recognition of the People's Republic of China as a "fundamental right." The Declaration concluded with obvious references to the anti-nuclear weapons movement in the West.

It opposed the "suppression of peace movements" and expressed "our deep respect for those friends who are taking conscientious and courageous actions for peace, especially in those countries where governments are pursuing policies towards nuclear armaments." Specific mention was then made of "protest fleets," marches, etc.

Because of the political bias of the Conference statements, Andre Trocmé, who had served as a member of the Preparatory Committee and the Conference Steering Committee, made a dramatic speech telling the conference why he could not vote for the Declaration. There were three reasons:

● The question of guilt. He could not associate himself with a unilateral condemnation of only a few nations of the world.

● The inclusion of issues which were not part of the work of the Official Commissions (Middle East, Algeria, Communist China).

● The suppression of important statements made by the official commissions. Here he referred to the request that had been made by three commissions for the immediate establishment of an effective control system on the production and stockpiling of A and H-weapons. At the final session there were other

and some intellectuals.

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The future of any peace movement in Japan will be influenced in some measure by the actions of the United States Government and American pacifists and conscientious Christians. Japan's constitutional provision against war and war preparation will not long stand in a world where armaments are proof of national independence. Already this constitutional provision is being undermined by the creation of "Self-Defence forces" with jets, missiles, tanks, "defence" ships, and armed personnel. Although the Socialist Party is fighting these moves, it is a losing battle.

Pro-Communist?

At present the Japanese are in a dilemma about relations with the U.S. The government would like U.S. armed forces to go home, but it does not want to antagonise the U.S. for Japan needs economic assistance in the form of loans and fewer U.S. trade restrictions.

The Liberal-Democratic Party, now in power, is the conservative party and is working to maintain closer relations with the U.S. while also seeking to open trade opportunities with Communist China. The Socialist Party is divided. The majority wing is following a neutralist position. The minority left-wing would like Japan to ally itself more closely with Communist China and the USSR.

Because of the vigour of Marxist thought and the constant use of the mass meeting emotional approach, economic depression or a worsening of the political climate internationally might lead Japan to swing to a neutralist or a pro-Communist government.

Turning in grave department

The 1958 William Penn award for "deep personal sacrifice" has been awarded to US War Minister Neil H. McElroy by the Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce.

Conferences to come STUDY AND DISCUSSION

SIR Alec Kirkbride, until recently British Minister in Jordan, Robert Stephens, the Middle East expert of the Observer, and Eric Baker, Gen. Sec. of the National Peace Council, will be the speakers on the "Danger Areas in the Mediterranean," a National Peace Council conference to be held at Beatrice Webb House, Dorking, from October 11-12. The full charge is £2. Applications to the National Peace Council, 29 Gt. James St., London, W.C.1.

★ ★ ★
"Peace and Freedom"—to be taken from the standpoint of psychological understanding and individual social well-being—is the theme of a non-residential weekend conference to be held under the auspices of the Iona Education Centre at Bedford House, Baker St., London. Speakers include Mary Macaulay, Dr. Alfred Torrie, a psychiatrist, and Mr. Lyon, a plant personnel officer. The fee for the conference is £2 2s. Other details may be had from Iona Education Centre, 10-12 Exhibition Rd., London, S.W.7.

★ ★ ★
Twelve lecture-discussion classes concerned with personality development, self-knowledge and family guidance—understanding ourselves and our children—are to be given by Mary Macaulay, founder of the Iona Education Centre on consecutive Tuesdays, September 23—December 9, or consecutive Thursdays, September 25—December 11. The classes, held under the London County Council further education scheme, commence at 7.30 p.m., and the fee for the term is 7s. The classes will be held at the Iona Education Centre, 10 Exhibition Rd., London, S.W.7, to which enquiries should be addressed.

One quarter to go

WE will soon be entering on the last quarter of 1958 and before we know where we are it will be Christmas time once more. Indeed the appearance of Endsleigh Cards and Housmans Diaries are in themselves a reminder of



PRESIDENT TITO VERSUS THE NAZARENES

Devil's Island treatment for conscientious objectors, "men thrown into the sea and hauled out again half-drowned and unconscious"—these reports are contained in a statement issued by the War Resisters' International concerning the plight of the Nazarenes, a Christian pacifist sect. Persecuted in a number of middle-European States for their refusal to undergo military training the Nazarenes withstand prison torture in Tito's Yugoslavia.

"BACK in 1933," Arlo Tatum, Secretary, War Resisters' International, told Peace News recently, "forty-five young Nazarenes were known to be in Yugoslavian prisons for refusal to train with weapons in the armed forces, and 18 of these were in their sixth year of a 7-10 year sentence."

Several were in Irem Mitrovica prison; the majority of today's objectors are there too.

"I have no earthly country, neither any party nor political leanings; I cannot take up arms to kill my fellowman," was the statement made by a young Yugoslav in 1936. At that time the name, age, prison address, number of children and length of sentence (up to 16 years) of 251 Nazarenes had been recorded at the Headquarters of the War Resisters' International, which obtained some reduction in sentences through the good offices of the League of Nations.

"Twenty-two years have passed since the young Nazarene made his statement, but it still represents the position of the Nazarenes," says Arlo Tatum. "The attitude of the Yugoslav Government remains unchanged.

Present-day position

"Refugees from Yugoslavia tell us that there are only about two thousand adult Nazarenes left in Yugoslavia, in 100 or so small communities. Some form part of Yugoslavia's German-speaking minority; others speak Serbian.

"Their pacifism is of the milder variety, which is to say that the young men generally are willing to enter the army, but will not carry weapons. The army's need for non-combatant soldiers, however, does not cause the government to grant the slightest concession.

"Case studies are tragic and compelling, but cannot be quoted in detail publicly. Mr. R. actually served as a non-combatant soldier for several years before he was sentenced, in 1946, to four years' imprisonment. Several others were sentenced at the same time, for the same offence—refusing to carry arms. After release from the

mentioned by Nazarene leaders in a recent unsuccessful petition to President Tito.

"Twenty of these 200 are serving their third prison sentence and at least one, a 'four-time loser,' is well into his second decade behind bars.

"Ten year sentences predominated in the 1940's; six year sentences now prevail. But length of sentence continues to vary widely.

Dangerous to State

"Some observers report an apparent connection between long sentences and farm ownership; others are sure that those who are awkward and shy before the military tribunals get shorter sentences."

According to this theory, the more eloquent and convincing the Nazarene is, the more dangerous he is to the State.

"From the limited comparative material available, it is concluded that the length of a second sentence has no connection with the length of the first. Of four men now in prison for the second time three have five-year sentences and one has three and a half years. The first time two sentences were for three years, one for four and one for ten years.

Unfortunate twenty-seven

"It is high time something was done for the Nazarenes, especially if reports from two reputable sources have not been exaggerated. Apparently 27 particularly unfortunate young men are not with their fellow-Nazarenes in the wretched prisons at Srem Mitrovica or Nis or their counterparts."

Instead, they are on a kind of "Devil's island" in the Adriatic called "Goli otok." It is alleged that men are being bound together, thrown into the open sea and hauled out again half-drowned and

UP AND DOING

FIRE WORKS

IT was Wednesday night. The Pacifist Youth Action Group was busily setting the world to rights and wrapping Peace News when there was a loud explosion. The landing filled with gunpowder smoke. A terrorist bomb raid? The fascists? The Ku-Klux-Klan? We shall never know for the marauders escaped without trace—except for a burnt out banger firework!

There are fireworks elsewhere too in the peacemaking world. Stimulated by the latest performance of the "follies à la Dulles" the campaign against nuclear insanity has swung back into action.

Last Monday a crowded hall heard the distinguished Nobel prizewinner Linus Pauling, and other pre-eminent men of science, warn the statesmen of the perils of the nuclear arms race. Up and down the country local committees are organising meetings and protests. At Scarborough next week Labour Party delegates will hear the leading lights of the campaign put their case.

Are you in touch with your local CND committee? See if it is taking Peace News. Make sure that the paper is on sale at all its meetings. After the seasonal sales slump during the summer months a really determined effort is needed by ALL our readers. You are one; you too can help.

MICHAEL RANDLE,
Sales Organiser.

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**'RELEASE
CONDENMED NEGRO'**

IAN DIXON, former secretary of the London Pacifist Youth Action Group, who last year returned from

cation scheme, commence at 7.30 p.m., and the fee for the term is 7s. The classes will be held at the Iona Education Centre, 10 Exhibition Rd., London, S.W.7, to which enquiries should be addressed.

One quarter to go

WE will soon be entering on the last quarter of 1958 and before we know where we are it will be Christmas time once more. Indeed the appearance of Endsleigh Cards and Housmans Diaries are in themselves a reminder of the need to prepare well in advance and not let Christmas come upon us unawares.

That is also true about the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund. We must not let the end of the year catch up on us and find us in the position of having left it too late to reach our total aim for 1958.

That, you will remember, is £1,250. We have done quite well so far this year. Thanks to the generosity of old and new friends who send us large and small amounts, some of them every month, we are ahead of the figure we had reached this time last year. But we are still not up to our average, which means that we have to make a special effort during the last quarter of the year.

I have every confidence that we will reach our aim again but don't leave it until too late. You can save us many an anxious moment if you will send in your contribution now and not leave it till the last minute.

And, please, I am not only concerned just with money. It is what the money represents that matters. I am concerned that every member of the PPU should want to take an effective share in spreading pacifism; that the PPU should be able to seize every opportunity open to us; that we should not be handicapped for lack of money; that those who for any reason cannot help in other ways should do their share by helping to finance our activities.

So please be generous this week and through your contribution to HQ let us get on with the job without having to worry about whether the money will come in.

STUART MORRIS
General Secretary

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.



Yugoslavia's German-speaking minority; others speak Serbian.

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Case studies are tragic and compelling, but cannot be quoted in detail publicly. Mr. R. actually served as a non-combatant soldier for several years before he was sentenced, in 1946, to four years' imprisonment. Several others were sentenced at the same time, for the same offence—refusing to carry a rifle. After serving only a few months he was released, only to be called up again in 1949. This time he was sentenced to three years' hard labour.

Mr. R. is out again, but he is young, so his future is uncertain.

Two-hundred strong

About 200 young Nazarenes are in prison at the present moment, less than half of them for the first time. This figure was

five-year sentences and one has three and a half years. The first time two sentences were for three years, one for four and one for ten years.

Unfortunate twenty-seven

It is high time something was done for the Nazarenes, especially if reports from two reputable sources have not been exaggerated. Apparently 27 particularly unfortunate young men are not with their fellow-Nazarenes in the wretched prisons at Srem Mitrovica or Nis or their counterparts.

Instead, they are on a kind of "Devil's island" in the Adriatic called "Goli otok." It is alleged that men are being bound together, thrown into the open sea and hauled out again half-drowned and unconscious.

Tito v. the Nazarenes is a rather unfair contest. It is high time we came in on the side of the Nazarenes," Arlo Tatum concluded.

Footnote.—In 1947 three Jehovah's Witnesses were sentenced to death. After repeated appeals the death sentences were reduced to life imprisonment. They are presumably still in prison.



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'RELEASE CONDEMNED NEGRO'

JAN DIXON, former secretary of the London Pacifist Youth Action Group, who last year returned from India where he had been working with Vinoba Bhave's Land Gift Movement, and who has been associated with many pacifist projects, has sent the following letter to the Governor of Alabama about the sentence of death passed on a negro, Jimmy Wilson, for theft.

... As I have read them, the facts are that Jimmy Wilson was convicted of theft only, a crime which in this country would receive as penalty at the most a few months in prison. To myself and to everybody with whom I have discussed the matter these facts are incomprehensible.

No doubt many of the letters, telegrams, etc., which have been written about this case are bitterly condemnatory. I write not to condemn but to ask you in a very practical way for a reassurance that American people are not prepared to stand by while their penal system, sanctioned presumably by their majority, does away with a human life for such a comparatively small offence.

I understand that you as Governor of the State of Alabama have powers to grant reprieve to this man. You will be doing a great service both to common sense and humanity should you choose to use these powers.

... Jimmy Wilson must have already undergone a great deal of suffering in the condemned cell — must have had more than ample time to repent of his petty offence. I hope that in the light of this and the other considerations I have mentioned you will see fit to order his release."

Ian Dixon hopes that his letter will encourage other PN readers to send similar ones, "in an attempt to create a maximum demonstration of world opinion in order to save this man's life. The date of his execution is set for October 24.

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Campaign and King-Hall

COMMANDER KING-HALL BELIEVES that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is having little practical effect because it is making the wrong kind of appeal.

The trouble with the Campaign according to his letter in the New Statesman last week is that it is asking the people, who in the majority are not pacifists, to support it for reasons "which are fundamentally moral and pacifist."

In fact, Commander King-Hall argues, the case for the policy is that it is "the best, the wisest, and the most effective policy for the defence of our values." It also "happens to have some moral attributes"; we do not think that it is doing an injustice to Commander King-Hall's contentions to infer that he thinks this may be unfortunate. The abandoning of nuclear energy for military purposes "is the correct non-pacifist way of defending ourselves."

The result of the Campaign's mistaken approach is that the Government is not contemplating changing its attitude and that the leaders of the Labour and Liberal Parties are still in substantial agreement with the Government.



IT is because we have so heartily welcomed Commander King-Hall's attempt to get people to think in terms other than armed defence that we are concerned that he should now be getting this matter so badly out of focus.

He may be assured that the majority of those responsible for the conduct of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are seeking as carefully as he is to dissociate themselves from the pacifist approach. We believe that this attitude at a time when the choice is between "nuclear war" and "no war" is bound to weaken their effectiveness.

Commander King-Hall might ask himself whether his concern with avoiding a moral appeal and his bringing "moral" and "realistic" considerations into opposition is not an indication that he is becoming more concerned with words than realities.

Pacifism has always been regarded by its advocates as a realistic

Poor Sir Pierson

SIR PIERSON DIXON is given some unpleasant work to do at the United Nations. It was he who had the humiliating task of trying to justify the Franco-British invasion of Egypt at the time of the Suez Canal dispute. Last week he was called upon to enact the character of Uriah Heep over the Indian proposal that the question of the representation of China should be straightened out.

The United States, of course, regularly opposes this proposal in the Steering Committee, and it brings to bear whatever pressure is necessary to secure that it has a majority among the representatives of its satellite nations. This time the vote was 12 against the matter being dealt with, seven in favour, and two abstentions. Those who voted against the discussion of the question included, of course, Chiang's own representative, France, which does not find itself in a position to defy the US in a matter of this kind, Japan, compelled to act as US agent, and Lebanon, whose Government had needed propping up by US troops.

We are also ashamed to note that Sir Pierson Dixon, as mentioned above, was under instructions to vote in this sense. The poor man said that the discussion of this matter would embitter the proceedings and do serious damage to the United Nations because "there was such a deep division of opinion among member States."

After "carefully considering all the factors" therefore, Britain had decided to support the US. A representative must vote, of course, not as he thinks right, but as his Government instructs him. Sir Pierson Dixon, however, is in the painful position of not being able to vote in the way his Government thinks right.

Apartheid in action

EVER since racial segregation was first advocated and practised in any place, its defenders have occasionally presented an idealised version which has something to be said for it—or would, if it bore any resemblance to the facts.

The truth, of course, is that in all communities where a colour bar is found it is imposed by the ruling "race" upon the ruled. The basis of segregation lies precisely there; for the first and most fundamental segregation is that of the "haves" from the "have-nots" in terms of political power and economic opportunity.

Occasionally one individual case shows just what this really means. In South Africa recently a young white woman found fault with her African servant. The servant was told to come in the evening and collect her belongings. When she arrived she was met by the white woman who said: "I will shoot you." She did so. The African servant was killed in cold blood.

Reporting this story, the Johannesburg correspondent of the Sunday Express (Sept. 14) said that the white

coloured people further reassurance of the attempted impartiality of the law of this country.

Unfortunately there may well be other effects amongst their white neighbours, for the fine nuances of the law are lost on most people and particularly on those emotionally involved in any situation, and it is only to be hoped that the harsh treatment of the white youths, and the very reasonable acquittal of coloured men, will not add fire to the flames of resentment smouldering amongst some of the white sections of the population.

They may feel that not only are the coloured immigrants creating situations they do not like, but that indeed the law is favouring them rather than the white people. It would be a wrong surmise, but the dangerous possibility of it remains.

Excuse for violence

THE tragedy is that the white people who are living alongside the coloured ones do not as a whole have any grievances or stronger prejudices than most



of us; but the few examples of misconduct by coloured people are magnified, and it is forgotten that white men too run brothels, exploit their neighbours in the letting of rooms, and run off with our girl friends.

Such things lead to local or personal resentments, but these resentments are not attached to the colour of the skin, the religious or racial make-up of the supposed villains; but if those who offend us happen to have a coloured skin, then all the conduct which makes them unpopular is ascribed to the colour of their skin. Most of the coloured people are as law abiding as the rest of us, but that fact is forgotten.

Unfortunately the few resentments can be fanned by propaganda, and impressionable young men can almost be persuaded that they have some moral virtue in attacking coloured men. But for most of those indulging in recent violence there was, as we say above, no evidence of real concern about the colour problem, but just evidence that where there was a chance of a fight, there these young men would be, whether it meant crossing London to Notting Hill or travelling to Nottingham for the purpose.

This is the phenomenon which needs attention.

The steady growth in violent crime has caused alarm, for it has been apparently unaccountable; it is in this same pattern that any excuse for violence, violence for its own sake, seems to be taken. Why? We must look again to the cause, not to the excuse given for these recent outbreaks.

The ever-pervading violence of the press has its effect

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Pacifism has always been regarded by its advocates as a realistic policy—a policy that offers the possibility of attaining certain desired ends within the realities of the world in which it has to operate.

It is true that those who have advocated military methods have been able to point from time to time to the attainment of certain limited objectives by military means. To that extent they have been able to claim that they are realists. The pacifist rejoinder has been that the successful use of military methods may be more realistic on a short term view and if nothing more than the realisation of material objectives has been envisaged. But on a longer view, and taking into consideration the defence or advancing of human values the pacifist is the realist since the means used inevitably condition the ends that are achieved.

The character of war at present is such that there are no longer these two planes of assessment. The short term and the long term have merged. This fact was skilfully demonstrated by Commander King-Hall in his book "Defence in the Nuclear Age." It is not realistic to evade this tremendous fact.



THE obstacles that propaganda for nuclear disarmament encounters in its approach to "the non-pacifist electors who appear to be in a substantial majority" and the opponents of nuclear disarmament who may also be in a majority is not the automatic rejection of any appeal which has a moral content (after all, much of Commander King-Hall's case in his book depends on the assumption that men do prize moral values.)

The twin obstacles are a common disinclination to face imaginatively the consequences of the new weapons and the individual's sense of powerlessness in relation to this matter.

As Commander King-Hall says, it is necessary to "bring the debate to Parliament where the final decision must be made." We agree with him that the Campaign is not likely to bring the question there. We should welcome Commander King-Hall's views on how the question can be made an important Parliamentary issue.

The two main parties are taking measures to make sure that the question of nuclear weapons is not the most important issue in a general election. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will inevitably come to an end if this should happen.

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Reporting this story, the Johannesburg correspondent of the Sunday Express (Sept. 14) said that the white woman, Mrs. Maria de Wet, was fined £50 for "culpable homicide." The judge, we read, "said he took into account the fact that the woman had been insolent to her. He warned her in future to be careful of firearms."

There is a studied cynicism in the judge's remarks which makes all comment on the case superfluous. Except, of course, that this is an illuminating example of the policy which Dr. Malan used to describe of different communities "Developing along their own lines."

The lines on which Mrs. de Wet developed were those of a privileged caste. The lines which sent the African servant to her death, at a cost of £50 to her employer, must seem singularly unattractive to those whose black skins are valued so cheaply. Or do they really believe that—facilities being "separate, but equal"—an African can shoot a white person for £50 cash down and a warning to be more careful in future?

There is, however, no occasion for self-righteousness. Worse crimes were recently committed in Kenya by Englishmen; and—on the rare occasions where there was a prosecution and a conviction—we can recall sentences as nominal and comments no less cynical.

Notting Hill

THE recent so-called racial riots have caused a lot of anxiety to both white and coloured people, but their worst feature was not the evidence that clashes of colour may occur, but the evidence of the ready recourse to violence by certain sections of the community who in some cases were not even involved in any racial contacts and certainly had no thought-out racial prejudices.

Nine young men, mostly of good character, have received heavy prison sentences for a quite wanton and deliberate expedition of terror against any black men they happened to meet; their sentences are shocking and will serve no useful purpose other than to reassure the coloured people that the law will treat their attackers as ruthlessly as it would treat the attackers of any other group.

The later acquittal of three coloured men amongst those charged with making an affray may give the

propaganda, and impressionable young men can almost be persuaded that they have some moral virtue in attacking coloured men. But for most of those indulging in recent violence there was, as we say above, no evidence of real concern about the colour problem, but just evidence that where there was a chance of a fight, there these young men would be, whether it meant crossing London to Notting Hill or travelling to Nottingham for the purpose.

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The ever-pervading violence of the age has its effect, the violence of films, the popularity of horror for its own sake, and brutality and crime on the television programmes all have their effect. But the problem goes deeper than that, and it is the one to which research and thought ought to be given.

The coloured peoples have been the unfortunate victims of a tendency to lawlessness which could as easily be turned against any other group with equally little justification.

Rejected

THE letter from Mr. Khrushchov which President Eisenhower returned was a very blunt indication of the Russian view of the US Government's attitude to the activities of Chiang Kai-shek. Apart from the rough edge given to Mr. Khrushchov's comments the views were not those of the Russian Government alone, but shared by most governments that are not associated with the US military bloc and a number of those that are, including the Government of Britain.

There have been official communications from the US Government to the Russian Government that have been just as accusatory and have equally implied an intention to meet force with force. It is true that the criticisms and counter-criticisms of the policies of the two giant powers might better have been conveyed in more moderate language, but this "rejection" of a note from one Head of State to another carries the diplomatic process of exacerbating bad relationships one step further; something that the Russian Government is all too likely to copy.

What most provoked President Eisenhower was the implied suggestion that it was Mr. Dulles who made US foreign policy and that the attitude of the President was merely one of flabby acceptance. This is unfortunately a view that is widely held outside Russia and is not unknown in the USA.

Why President Eisenhower maintains Mr. Dulles as Secretary of State is of course his affair, but there would be many among the allies of the US who would be glad of some assurance that it is no longer John Foster Dulles who dominates the formulation of US foreign policy.

A chance to recover confidence

THIS is the season in Britain for political conferences. The Liberal Party met last week, the Labour Party meets next week, the Tories the week after.

These gatherings are of unusual importance this year, because the General Election, deciding the future of Britain and the fate of much of the world, is likely to be held before the parties meet in conference again.

The Liberals are pleased with signs of revival, but they cannot expect much. They now have six Members of Parliament. I shall be surprised if they have 15 in the next Parliament, though that number, even in a House of 630, can have considerable influence when the Tory and Labour Parties are of approximately equal strength.

Liberal policy

Liberal policy tends to be good in international affairs but anti-socialist in domestic affairs. It has declared against the British manufacture of H-bombs, though it can hardly claim that this is on moral grounds when it accepts the protection of America's H-bombs. On colonial issues the Liberals are usually outspoken.

They oppose socialism because they still hold that economic free enterprise is freedom. They do not see that it is freedom to exploit and that socialism, when genuinely

applied, would extend to the economic sphere the political democracy which the nineteenth century largely won for Britain, Western Europe and America, and which the twentieth century is winning for the colonial countries.

The Liberal revival in Britain reflects the growth of the middle class, the technicians, the professions, the executives, the foremen, even higher-paid skilled workers, some of whom feel they are now "above" Labour.

But it also reflects a decline in the idealism of the Labour Party. Many young people, as revealed in the static Labour vote at by-elections, have concluded that neither the Tory nor Labour Party is giving the lead which is demanded by the world, poised between limitless human destruction and limitless human expansion. They turn to a new party.

Next week's Labour conference will give the Party an opportunity to recover the confidence of those who are looking for the bold, imaginative and liberating policy which the world, faced by the supreme crisis of human history, now requires.

New programme needed

We are tired of the old political game. We need a political programme which is a human crusade, which will challenge the fatal division of the world, the use of science for death when it could bring a new meaning to life, which will champion the rights of all peoples to freedom, which will recognise the unity of mankind above all differences of race and colour, which will re-state socialism in terms of service, human needs, equality and democracy in all the relations of life.

Labour is within inches of doing this. Its people want it. They would leap in response if such a lead were given. There is a fatal caution at the top and the view that we must appeal to moderate people. We are not getting the moderate people, we are losing the enthusiastic, and we are not winning those who would respond to courage.

The fatal mistake was when Labour

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



decided to endorse a British H-bomb. That was the touch-stone. It tied us to the old world. The excuse that we should be naked in international bargaining without it tied us to the old diplomacies.

The spirit of the creation of the new age was lost to us when the fatal vote at last year's conference was taken.

How keenly the active members, concentrated in the constituency parties, feel on this issue is shown by the 20 pages of resolutions in the agenda of the conference. They constitute one-third of all the resolutions, a remarkable demonstration.

The gigantic votes of the trades unions will doubtlessly defeat those who want Britain to bury the bomb, but the leadership cannot ignore this manifestation of opinion by those on whose devotion the result of the general election will in largest part depend. We may expect from this conference a stronger lead than has been given before.

War will be resisted

Labour has already declared for a suspension of H-bomb tests and of the American-aided rocket bases pending international discussion. We are pledged to propose nuclear disarmament at the international discussions.

A new situation has now arisen by the agreement of the technicians, both Soviet and West, that tests can be detected by international control and by the threat of France, China and even Switzerland to develop nuclear weapons. The danger of a nuclear war will be alarmingly extended as more countries possess the bomb.

In this situation, Labour should give a

new compelling emphasis to its demand for the suspension of tests, for the scrapping of the rocket bases in Britain, and for an international conference to outlaw all nuclear weapons. But is it too much to hope that the leadership may go further? Why should we not say at the international conference, in view of the new danger of the spreading of the H-bomb to other countries, that Britain will give the lead in destroying ours?

An announcement of such an intention by the leadership would have an electric effect and would rekindle much of the spirit which was lost last year.

The American threat to the People's Republic of China will give the conference a great opportunity to make clear Labour's determination to resist involvement in war, and I believe that opportunity will be accepted. Hugh Gaitskell's declaration has been clear and forthright. Labour will insist that the Peking Government be admitted to the United Nations and that Quemoy and the off-shore islands be recognised as part of the mainland.

It will demand an end to the hypocritical Tory policy at the United Nations where, out of subservience to America, we acquiesce in representation of China by Chiang Kai-shek's Government, although we have ourselves recognised the People's Republic.

Effect of a cease-fire

America claims to be standing for peace because it is calling for a cease-fire in the Formosa Straits. One hopes that there will be a cease-fire, and that the American-equipped forces on the islands will be withdrawn. But does America appreciate the logic of a cease-fire and a withdrawal? The islands are of no value for the defence of Formosa, 100 miles away, but only for an attack on the mainland.

A cease-fire, binding on Chiang Kai-shek as well as on Peking, would imply that the American puppet forces on For-

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NO MORE WAR!

SIR RICHARD ACLAND

● FROM PAGE ONE

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nuclear armaments? Morally, the plain Christian truth is perfectly clear: We ought to be ready to submit to all the worst that Atheist Communism can do to us rather than resist it by preparing to slaughter forty or fifty million Russian men, women and children. Nevertheless, men of good will in Britain fear failure to resist Communism would lead to the imposition of a totalitarian State to which there is no foreseeable end.

Communist tyranny could not last for ever. How and when it would end we do not know; but that it would end is certain. Something recognisably British would live through the whole persecution and come out at the end.

But in fact Russian occupation is not even likely. It would be contrary to the Russian leaders' own estimate of what is to their advantage.

They must know now that they cannot impose Communism by force, while on the other hand they stand to lose enormously in world opinion by trying to do so.

Hungary

Consider Hungary. Is it right to suppose that the present rulers of Russia will have concluded from Hungary that Communism can be imposed on all the world by force? Surely this ignores the question of scale?

It has always been known to the Russians and to everyone else that any great nation with immense military strength can always crush a rebellion, however courageous, in a little country with no military power at all.

The great shocks to the Russians must have been the disproportionate amount of force that they had to use; the dogged courage of workers and intellectuals giving their lives to escape the Communist yoke; and the amount of ideological doubt that was spread among their own European troops, who actually had to be replaced by Asian units before the real job was done.

There were only a few million people in Hungary; there are well over a billion in the non-Communist world today. The most elementary arithmetic must surely persuade the Russian high command, not that they can, but that they cannot impose Communism on the whole world by physical force.

We should remember Russia is vulnerable. As Lord Chandos has said: "Is it possible to turn out one hundred and fifty thousand students on a five-year course from one Academy alone and then expect them at the end not to start thinking a little bit for themselves?"

Bold step

So much for the risks we take in nuclear disarmament. Our present policy places our ideals in much more serious danger by failing to take the initiative in positive policies. Nuclear disengagement would be perhaps the much-needed first step in overcoming mistrust.

We have tried for years to negotiate disarmament, but is there any chance of taking the first steps unless something else has already begun to change the mood of the world? Certainly there is no short cut, it may take fifty years; but some bold step there must be.

Similarly, Britain's disengagement would enable her to play the part of initiator in aid to under-developed countries through international bodies, in building up an international police force, and in many other ways all of which are at present barred because any action Britain takes now is seen inevitable as that of America's junior H-bomb partner.

I do not recommend a policy of absolute pacifism because, in my opinion, there is not the slightest chance that the British electorate will vote for it and sustain it at any time in the twentieth century. By contrast, I think there is a fair chance that the British people will decide to give up all nuclear weapons and abandon any idea of ever again participating in world-scale war.

Chiang Kai-shek's Government, although we have ourselves recognised the People's Republic.

J. D. *Effect of a cease-fire*

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A cease-fire, binding on Chiang Kai-shek as well as on Peking, would imply that the American puppet forces on Formosa would have to give up the dream of the re-conquest of China. It would destroy the last pretence that Chiang Kai-shek's Government has the right to speak for China.

Labour's policy for the general election has already been decided by the adoption of the major Policy Statements. They do not satisfy radical socialists in many respects, but if they were presented with challenge and inspiration could become the core of a rousing campaign. One of the best declarations is on the subject of the colonies.

Other resolutions

At the coming conference Cyprus will be in the forefront. We can confidently expect that Labour will insist on a democratically-elected inter-racial National Assembly, to supplement any separate Greek or Turkish bodies for dealing with communal affairs. This is the only basis on which Mr. Macmillan's plan could be made acceptable.

The agenda also has resolutions on Central Africa, South Africa, Malaya, Human Rights and Co-operative development. The declared policy on most of these issues is good, and one hopes that the conference will insist on their implementation.

The resolution on Malaya calls for the withdrawal of the British forces. The Party should reconsider its attitude on this issue as Malaya is now independent, its Government has refused negotiations with the rebels, and both the Malayan Labour Party and Trades Unions are demanding that British forces should leave the territory.

The Conservative Party Conference, which will follow Labour's, will be encouraged by some improvement in public support. How far this trend in public opinion continues will depend more on what Labour says and does than upon Tory policy.

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Tax refuser carried into U.S. court

'Sticker' pledges non-co-operation

A STREAMER headline across the whole front-page and a picture across five columns told readers of the Cincinnati Post on Sept. 12 that the Rev. Maurice McCrackin's refusal to pay income tax for war purposes had climaxed in his being carried into court.

The arrest followed his refusal to appear before the Revenue Officer on Sept. 10 to discuss his non-compliance with tax laws.

In a letter stating his reasons for refusing to appear, in which he reviewed his efforts to stop supporting the "death march" of war, he said:

"... During these past years and particularly in the last two, I have learned how far the arm of government extends into the life of the citizen and the church. Bank accounts can be appropriated, safety deposit boxes opened; cars, houses and other personal property seized to meet the demands of the Department of Internal Revenue no matter how conscientiously opposed the individual may be to answering these demands....

Civil disobedience

"I cannot respond to your summons because I cannot co-operate with an agency such as your own which has in it so many elements of a Police State. No negotiation is possible for I am not willing to give any information or to make any tax payments."

"To meet with you would only involve us in discussions which could lead nowhere. Not to come I know is an act of civil

disobedience but anyone who contends that civil law should always be obeyed and never disobeyed should remember that Adolph Hitler came to power in a legal fashion. His rise was made possible by and became inevitable because the edicts and laws of the German State were blindly obeyed. When finally there was open disobedience it was too little and too late....

Smear attack

"I realise the possible consequences of refusing to respond to your summons. Nevertheless, I wish to make it clear that I will not honor any summons, subpoena, or indictment from the Department of Internal Revenue, Judge of the District Court or United States Commissioner. This is not a threat of defiance but is a pledge of complete non-co-operation with the evil forces which are now engaged in prosecuting this act of violence against my conscience."

Since September, 1957, Mr. McCrackin has been under attack by the "Americanism" committee of the Hamilton County American Legion, by church and commun-

ity elements who disagree with his forthright witness for brotherhood or his pacifist stand against war.

The State of Georgia began and financed a smear attack of McCrackin following his visits to Koinonia Farm, an inter-racial Christian community in Georgia, and his attendance at a seminar on the non-violent movement for integration in the South.

The Cincinnati Presbytery in February, 1958, after agitation by some Presbyterian clergymen and lay readers, considered an action to remove Mr. McCrackin from his pastorate, but declined to take this step.

Released without signing

The American Legion has been sponsoring a boycott of the current Community Chest fund-raising campaign unless McCrackin is removed as director of Cincinnati's Findlay Street Neighbourhood House.

Offered release on bail, Mr. McCrackin refused to sign any documents. In the late afternoon the U.S. Commissioner removed all bond requirements and allowed McCrackin to walk out without signing anything or making any verbal agreements.

The last word that day came from a patient news photographer, waiting to get further pictures in the hall of the building of Mr. McCrackin being carried by Federal officials: "Boy! He's a sticker, ain't he?"

CAN A CHRISTIAN DROP AN H-BOMB?

By Rev. Albert D. Belden D.D.

I UNDERSTAND that a great new jazz disc has arrived, the disc to swallow all other discs, called "The Atom Blues." It is a protest from America on the part of "the agitated youth" of our time, referred to in the House of Lords by the Bishop of Carlisle, against nuclear weapons. It tells you that you must choose between "a World at Peace or a World in Pieces."

Thus do extremes meet once more—the purest religion and the most rollicking fun—and they make it plain that even a human being, much less a Christian, cannot drop an H-bomb without incurring everlasting

into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles (British or Russian) whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink of one Spirit."

Does anyone really believe that you could have convinced St. Paul, who wrote those words, that such "Members of that one body" can slay each other, and to the tune of millions, without most horribly destroying "the one body"?



The Rev. Albert D. Belden DD is Founder Director of the Pax Christi League. He is a well-known Con-

The unwanted millions

This year the U.S. Congress approved the biggest peacetime military budget in history—\$39.6 billion, or \$816 million more than the President said is "necessary for our security." The unwanted \$816 million is, by itself more than was appropriated for all the following put together:

- The Development Loan Fund
- All U.S., UN and OAS (Organisation of American States) Technical Assistance
- The U.S. exchange of persons programme
- All Contributions to the UN and UN specialized agencies
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- Health and education programmes for American Indians

—Washington Newsletter.

THE NEEDED EDUCATION

Every U.S. Congressman has been presented with a copy of Commander Sir Stephen King Hall's book, "Defence in the Nuclear Age," the book in which he argues that reliance on military force is no longer feasible and that therefore a new policy of defence based on no-violent resistance is necessary. They were given by the American Friends' Service Committee (Quakers).

of the world who shall organise the resolute opposition of the five or six hundred millions they lead, against a shooting war.

There is not a population, East or West, that would not acclaim such action by the Churches as God-sent, for humanity wants Life, not Death—decent life, not radioactive agony.



WHAT is needed above all is a great surge of faith that the Christian Church, in her total self-hood, presenting that Unity of Love (not of theology or organisation) for which her Lord prayed so passionately and to which He pinned His victory, can

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UNDERSTAND that a great new jazz disc has arrived, the disc to swallow all other discs, called "The Atom Blues." It is a protest from America on the part of "the agitated youth" of our time, referred to in the House of Lords by the Bishop of Carlisle, against nuclear weapons. It tells you that you must choose between "a World at Peace or a World in Pieces."

Thus do extremes meet once more—the purest religion and the most rollicking fun—and they make it plain that even a human being, much less a Christian, cannot drop an H-bomb without incurring everlasting shame.

The World Council of Churches, in their last Assembly at Evanston, USA, called for "the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction including atomic and hydrogen bombs."

The British and the American (non-Catholic) Churches were heavily involved in that Assembly and in that verdict, yet one scarcely hears their voice during the present agitation.

This is not a matter on which the Church should speak once and obscurely, but on which Her Voice should thunder forth in world leadership from Rome, Moscow, Washington and Canterbury.

Gentiles (British or Russian) whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink of one Spirit."

Does anyone really believe that you could have convinced St. Paul, who wrote those words, that such "Members of that one body" can slay each other, and to the tune of millions, without most horribly destroying "the one body"?



He is seen here speaking at Woolwich Arsenal in 1954.

PROFESSING to believe "in the holy Catholic Church," we are now asked to sanction first the preparation of hydrogenic death and then its actual use upon millions of our fellow-churchmen—members of the One Body of Christ, who happen to live behind the iron curtain.

The dilemma is just as cruel for those millions as for ourselves, as they, too, are caught in this vile policy of preparing million-murdering death for us, their fellow-Christians of the West.

To what an abject farce does this reduce the Holy Catholic Church—that One Body of the Lord.

Billy Graham is fond of saying "The Bible says." Well, this is what the Bible says:

"For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ."

For by one Spirit are we all baptised

of the world who shall organize the resolute opposition of the five or six hundred millions they lead, against a shooting war.

There is not a population, East or West, that would not acclaim such action by the Churches as God-sent, for humanity wants Life, not Death—decent life, not radioactive agony.

WHAT is needed above all is a great surge of faith that the Christian Church, in her total self-hood, presenting that Unity of Love (not of theology or organisation) for which her Lord prayed so passionately and to which He pinned His victory, can save not only herself, but mankind, in this fateful hour of decision.

"That they may be one, that they may be made perfect in one, that the world may believe, that the world may know"—that is how Jesus prayed, the Bible says—and that means Russian Christians (100,000,000 at least), American Christians (70,000,000 at least) and British Christians (25,000,000 at least), plus the other churches of Europe (another 150,000,000).

Let that mass of professedly "new humanity," "converted souls," "disciples of Jesus," "members of the Holy Catholic Church"—however they describe themselves—let them become what the Bible calls them: "one man in Christ Jesus," and the abolition of war comes in sight.

EITHER Christians will do this, or, indulging in an armaments race of nuclear weapons led by their governments, they will come to the breaking point of economic resource and international nerve.

Scared increasingly by the necessary propaganda of each bloc against the other, that nerve will collapse into war, and white civilisation, with all the accumulated gains of Christianity and with all its opportunity of human evangelism, will go down in a welter of mutual mass-murder.

"Multitudes, multitudes, in the valley of decision" the Bible says, and "the day of the Lord is at hand in the valley of decision." **But only if the right decision is made.**

Surely it is time that the Churches of the West and of the East cried out to one another, again as the Bible says:

"He is our peace Who hath made both one and broken down the middle wall of partition, having slain the enmity."

DIARY PN readers have their say

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, September 26

BIRMINGHAM: 10.30 a.m. and 1.30 p.m. Room 3, Chamber of Commerce, 95 New St., CO Tribunal. **COLCHESTER**: 7.30 p.m.; The Moot Hall. Public Mtg. Sir Richard Acland. CND.

HAMMERSMITH: 8 p.m.; Town Hall. Dr. Peter Astbury, Rev. Francis Noble. CND.

Saturday, September 27

COLCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. next to Library. Film Show including "The Japanese Fishermen." CND.

HEREFORD: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., King St. FoR Reunion. Service. Tea. Talk by Douglas Wollen. Discussion.

KEYNSHAM (BRISTOL): 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Western Area Annual Rally. Sybil Morrison, "No More War or No More World." Public Mtg. 7 p.m. PPU.

LEEDS: 2.30–5.30 p.m.; St. Aidan's Church. Quiet Afternoon conducted by Rev. Eric Illing. APP.

LONDON, N.5: 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Steenoven House 16 Aberdeen Rd., Highbury. Quarterly day of prayer for the peace of the world. Services in chapel, public mtg. 4 p.m. Mr. J. J. O'Connor.

WATFORD: 4.7.45 p.m. St. Mary's Church, High St., Free School (Back room No. 4). Muriel Lester "India and the Far East." FoR.

Sunday, September 28

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse, Arthur Foote, "The Art of Seeing."

SCARBOROUGH: 1.30 p.m. Assemble Station Yard for March. CND.

SCARBOROUGH: 8 p.m. Olympia Ballroom. Canon L. John Collins, John Horner, Benn Levy, J. B. Priestley, A. J. P. Taylor. CND.

Monday, September 29

SCARBOROUGH: 7.45 p.m.; Public Library, Vernon Rd. "Outlaw War—Labour Must Lead." Fenner Brockway, MP, Emrys Hughes, MP, Walter Monslow, MP, and Minnie Pallister. Chair: Victor Yates, MP. Tickets 1s. and details from Sec., Labour Peace Fellowship, Denis Brian, 24a Breakfasts Rd., London, S.E.4.

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m. Labour Party Rooms, Westgate. PPU.

TIMPERLEY: 7.45 p.m. Congregational Church, Hayes Lane. Film "Children of Hiroshima." CND.

Tuesday, September 30

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Room 4, Friends Mtg. Hse., Bull St. Max Parker "Two Weeks Wonder—Peacemakers in Russia." FoR.

BIRMINGHAM: 7.45 p.m. 3 Wentworth Rd., Olton. Sheldon Group mtg. PPU.

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Centre, Ship St. Arlo Tatum, Sec. WRI. "The Pacifist Under Totalitarianism." PPU.

HALE (Altringham): 7.45 p.m. Congregational Church, Cecil Rd. Film "Children of Hiroshima." CND.

KENSINGTON: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, Public meeting "The Right to Live," Rev. Michael Fryer, Lord Dowding, Films (children not admitted),

SAFFRON WALDEN: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. Kenneth Strong on "The Effects of Radio-active Fall-out on a Civilian Population." Films.

Wednesday, October 1

WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Horsman St. Report of Two-week Visit to Moscow, Max Parker (Gen. Sec. FoR). FoR.

WELWYN GARDEN CITY: 7.45 p.m. Cherry Tree Ballroom. Francis Jude, Antoinette Pirie. CND.

Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, Oct. 1, 2 and 3

Peace issues and Labour

THE number of resolutions on the Labour Party Agenda regarding the H-bomb is an indication of the feeling inside the Constituency Parties on this issue. It is absolutely vital that all readers of Peace News visiting the Conference should take every opportunity of bringing the peace issues before the delegates.

The sale of Peace News and other peace literature, support for the peace meetings and discussions with delegates will all be of value.

May I bring before readers the Labour Peace Fellowship meeting on Monday night, September 29th, at 7.45 p.m. at the Public Library, Vernon Rd., Scarborough, when Fenner Brockway, MP, Emrys Hughes, MP, Walter Monslow, MP, and Minnie Pallister will speak on "Outlaw War—Labour Must Lead." Victor Yates, MP, will be in the chair.

Emrys Hughes, MP, has, of course, written the new Housmans pamphlet, "Labour and the H-bomb," which should get a good sale at the Conference.—DENNIS BRIAN, Gen. Sec., Labour Peace Fellowship, 24a Breakfasts Rd., London, S.E.4.

Pacifism and Hitler

THOMAS OSBORN is right to challenge me for making an assertion without bringing any evidence, or arguments, in support of it, but perhaps it may be taken as some excuse that I have frequently argued in my column in Peace News that if ever a nation came to the point of renouncing war it would mean a revolutionary change had taken place in society, and also in the whole character of that nation's foreign policy.

I, therefore, do not disagree with him on that issue at all, though I wish he had answered his own rhetorical questions, and I wish he had based his arguments upon what I said (which he does after all quote) instead of upon something that I did not say.

My point was that had the revolutionary change which pacifism would have brought about taken place, *there would have been no Hitler*, so it is rather pointless to spend some 800 words arguing with me as to what Hitler would have done to pacifists when my argument was that he would not have been there to do it!

I am not quite sure whether to take per-

Thomas Osborn is entitled to his view that pacifism will not work, but he cannot possibly prove it has failed, since it has never been tried as a national policy, though I agree that we are a long way from the day when it will be tried. Which does not mean that those who advocate it are starry-eyed wool-gatherers; on the contrary they are, in my view, the only realists.

—SYBIL MORRISON, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Mithras

A FEW weeks ago Dr. Donald Soper was warmly advocating a re-reading of "The Rise of Christianity," by E. W. Barnes, to readers of Peace News. We are now informed by the Rev. G. Phelps that Bishop Barnes was never a NT scholar. Was Dr. Soper then misleading us by recommending a book that, according to Mr. Phelps, has been discredited by modern NT scholarship, or was he not aware that it had been so discredited?

Surely, when making such a statement, Dr. Phelps should cite the "authorities" who have superseded Bishop Barnes, and

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

also, according to him, Sir James Frazer, of whose "Golden Bough" he observes that "the comparative study of religions has moved far since it was written." But in what direction has it moved, and who are these brilliant scholars who have so successfully refuted the findings of both Barnes and Frazer? And what of Dr. Hugh Schonfield and Dr. Kuhn—surely extremely modern?—L. Patterson, Depuis, etc., whom I also quote but to whom, I notice, Mr. Phelps does not refer?

Surely a writer is free to choose the authorities needed to prove his or her thesis when they are scholars of high standing, and not have them brushed aside by prejudiced critics as unreliable?

One would have thought that pacifist clergymen would have been glad to find new evidence that Mithraic and not Christian values have brought the world to its present calamitous state, and therefore that it is paganism and not Christianity that has failed. Or is Christianity, which has been guilty of such gross misleadership of Western humanity, more sacrosanct than Christianity, pacifism or Truth?—ESME WINNIE-

PEACE NEWS—September 26, 1958—7

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MEETINGS

NATIONAL PREPARATORY CONFERENCE for the seventh World Festival of Youth and Students, Vienna, 1959. The British Youth Festival Committee invites all organisations interested in taking part or that want to know more about the next World Youth Festival to send representatives to this National Conference. Sunday, October 19, 1958, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., Shaftesbury Hotel, Monmouth St., London, W.C.2. Enquiries to Secretary, BYFC, 351 Goswell Rd., London, E.C.1.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District, Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with views of fells.—Isabel James, Telephone: Grasmere 334.

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LITERATURE

BRITAIN'S OLDEST SOCIALIST WEEKLY—vigorous, forthright and consistently against war—the "Socialist Leader." Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Threepence weekly. Obtainable from your newsagent or from 48 Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1, and 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

"LIBERTE," the French pacifist weekly. 36s. a year, 20s. 6 months. (US \$1 seamail, \$10 airmail, a year) from Housemans (Peace News bookshop), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Cttee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London N.W.1.

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Wednesday, October 1

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WELWYN GARDEN CITY: 7.45 p.m. Cherry Tree Ballroom. Francis Jude, Antoinette Pirie. CND.

Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, Oct. 1, 2 and 3

HALIFAX: 1 p.m. to 9 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Clare Rd. "Healing of the Nations." Displaying National Peace Council Exhibition "Atomic War or Peace" with talks, films shows and tape recordings illustrating Constructive Peace Making. SoF, FoR, PPU, IFL and others.

Thursday, October 2

CROYDON: 8 p.m.; The Civic Hall. Debate on Nuclear Disarmament between Benn Levy and Vice-Admiral John Hughes Hallett. Chair: Prof. Herbert Dingle. CND.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Elsie Pracy "Leyton's Link with Hamburg." PPU.

Friday, October 3

ALTRINCHAM: 8 p.m. YWCA, Ashley Rd. "Any Questions on Nuclear Disarmament?" G. D. Tinkler, D. Holmes, Coun. S. Orme, Rev. A. W. Vallance, L. Cowan. Chair: Rev. E. J. B. Jones, MA, LIB. CND

Saturday, October 4

CROYDON: 4.30 p.m.; Adult School Hall, Park Lane, Autumn Social. Stalls, Children's Tea Party, Member of the Magic Circle, Westminster Players, Music, Running Buffet. Surrey Area PPU.

LEYTONSTONE, E.11: p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., (nr. Green Man) Bazaar, Garden Party, and Concert for Peace News Funds. Gifts and offers of help please, to John Barnard, 60 Bushwood, E.11. Leyton PPU and Peace News.



Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m.; Clapham Common. Christian Pacifist Open-air Meeting. The Brotherhood of the Way.

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Queens Pk. Gate, top of Victoria Rd. Open-air Meeting.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends mtg. Hse., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull St. Meeting House (outside) Peace News selling.



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I am not quite sure whether to take personally the "you" who is rhetorically, and rather rudely, exhorted to take the pledge and waste breath "bleating," but I certainly consider that Thomas Osborn has wasted a lot of words and space arguing from a premise of his own choosing, and not from one stated by me in the article on which he has based his letter.

He demands that the "real problems" should be tackled, though it is hard to make out in this welter of words what he considers those problems to be. I would recommend him to read and study "What Is Pacifism" published by the Peace Pledge Union, and "Unarmed," published by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

These documents are the outcome of careful and prolonged study; they endeavour to give answers to the vital questions which confront pacifists in advocating their doctrine of total unilateral disarmament.

He saw the point

MRS. NORA MO JONES, of 24 Regent Street, Lancaster, who secured 200 signatures in the last week of August to the Nuclear Disarmament Petition, writes:

"A workman said: 'I'd sign your petition for Nuclear Disarmament tomorrow if the Russians would.' I said: 'You would give up the drink if your pal would.' He had had a fair amount, but he saw the point, laughed—and signed!"

A naval occasion

THE Commander of the Dieppe raid, Vice-Admiral John Hughes-Hallett, is

quote but to whom, I notice, Mr. Phelps does not refer?

Surely a writer is free to choose the authorities needed to prove his or her thesis when they are scholars of high standing, and not have them brushed aside by prejudiced critics as unreliable?

One would have thought that pacifist clergymen would have been glad to find new evidence that Mithraic and not Christian values have brought the world to its present calamitous state, and therefore that it is paganism and not Christianity that has failed. Or is Christianity, which has been guilty of such gross misleadership of Western humanity, more sacrosanct than Christianity, pacifism, or Truth?—ESME WYNNE-TYSON, 9 Park Lane, Selsey, Sussex.

Fenner Brockway

IT is felt that many of his friends will wish to join with Fenner Brockway, MP, in celebrating his 70th birthday.

A small ad hoc committee has booked St. Pancras Town Hall for Sunday evening, November 2 from 6 p.m. There will be a presentation to Fenner, entertainment and dancing. Refreshments will be available.

In addition to his Colonial friends in London, Fenner would like to meet his many friends in causes with which he has been associated.

Anyone wishing to be present on this occasion may obtain a ticket, price 2s. 6d., from the address below—**HUGH H. BROCK**, Chairman, HELEN BASTABLE, Hon. Sec., JOAN HYAMS, Hon Treas., 374 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

to be one of the speakers in a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament debate in Croydon on October 2.

Now Conservative MP for Croydon North-East, he will be facing Mr. Benn W. Levy, who will move "that this House considers that Britain should unilaterally abandon the manufacture, testing and storing of nuclear weapons, and prohibit their use from British territory."

Benn Levy, playwright and author, was Fenner Brockway's predecessor as Labour MP for Eton and Slough, contesting the seat in 1945 as Lt. B. W. Levy, RN. Author of a number of plays, his play, "The Rape of the Belt," is currently running in London.

The Croydon CND can congratulate themselves on securing a Chairman to match two brilliant debaters. Prof. Herbert Dingle, DSc, is Professor Emeritus of History and Philosophy of Science at University College, London, and a former President of the Royal Astronomical Society.

Other details are to be found in the "Diary," page seven.

LONDON, N.4.

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PEACE DIARY for 1959 now available, with 32 page World Directory of Peace Organisations and Periodicals. 3s. 6d. (postage 4d.) from Endsleigh Cards (Peace News Ltd.), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. (Full Christmas List available).

SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 2 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers). Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

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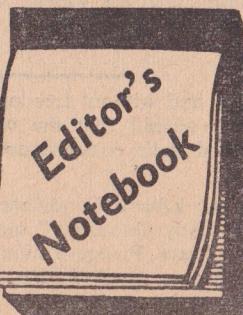
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On the eve of the referendum

By PIERRE ELLY

THE referendum which is to take place on September 28 is sharply dividing French opinion. Whereas the real source of the trouble lies with the war in Algeria those who want to continue it have accused the constitution of all the evils in order to hide the true reason for our difficulties.

The French population of Algeria is now anxious, for the May 13 coup has not solved the Algerian question. They can no longer blame the "system" for the failure of the policy of "pacification" since the army has now concentrated all the powers in its hands. Not only the 2,000 big landowners but all the French settlers in Algeria enjoy privileges which they are not prepared to give up. They want to remain the masters and they are afraid, if the country became independent of being treated by the Arabs as they have treated them.

They need the permanent protection of the French army and this is why they are asking for integration. Unfortunately a true integration would require investments far beyond the financial possibilities of France. Moreover the majority of the Arabs do not want it.

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Scientists on trial

FROM CONSTANCE WILLIS

"PEOPLE are bewildered by the conflicting voice of science," declared Ritchie Calder, chairing the enthusiastic meeting "Scientists on Trial" organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on Monday evening, as he introduced the three distinguished scientists and those who were to cross-examine them. (The hall was almost full, and the collection amounted to over £600.)

The tests

LUDOVIC KENNEDY (*Liberal candidate at Rochdale*): *What disease and sickness will there be from these tests, on what people, where, and at what time?*

DR. LINUS PAULING: Fall-out causes harmful mutations, producing children with mental and physical defects; no biologist would deny this. I estimate that testing has produced or will in time produce one hundred and fifty thousand seriously defective children. Fifteen thousand defects are likely to result from each single bomb explosion. It is iniquitous to continue these, especially British tests, the purpose of which is to obtain information already in the possession of the United States.

PROF. POWELL: What shall we treasure, if we do not care about this?

KEITH POWELL (*political editor of the Economist*): *Is it not the case that the amount of background radiation varies very much with where one lives?*

DR. LINUS PAULING: No statistical evidence exists now. The majority of the genetic damage on tests is about 1 per cent of that due to normal radiation. But every human being is important. Where and to

whom is this danger? There is no way of saying when a man dies of leukaemia, bone cancer, or any other kind of cancer, whether it is due to bomb tests or natural background radiation.

NEIL LAWSON, QC: *By using underground methods is it possible to get rid of the risk?*

KEITH POWELL: *Is it practicable from the point of view of results to endeavour to test underground bombs of higher magnitude?*

DR. LINUS PAULING: This job is done. There is no sense in more testing. Why do we go on? Some refinements are being made. There might be an increase of 5 per cent in the efficiency of the weapon.

The weapons

MARGARET LANE (*novelist and journalist*): *Can the scientists tell us briefly now what are the possible limits of nuclear destruction in the event of global war?*

PROF. POWELL (quoting from the Vienna Statement): "We meet in Kitzbuehl and Vienna at a time when it has become evident that the development of nuclear weapons makes it possible for man to destroy civilisation. Scientists have long been concerned with this development. We are faced with the possibility of a worldwide catastrophe of unprecedented magnitude. It is very likely that the total population of the northern and perhaps the southern hemisphere would be exterminated."

"Unprecedented magnitude" can be interpreted as meaning absolutely everything in our civilisation which any of us value would be destroyed.

PROF. OLIPHANT: One can, at the present moment, envisage no possible way in which any Government can guarantee to its citizens that they are not going to suffer complete extinction on any war. This disaster which would undoubtedly overtake

suddenly dropping a single bomb on one city in Britain or America and saying: "Unless you surrender we are going to drop more bombs and come over and occupy your country?" Is there a possibility of more limited nuclear war?

PROF. OLIPHANT: No possibility. What national leader would give in while he had great weapons which might win him victory? If you are going to have an agreement, why not extend it until you settle the question by tossing a coin or by single combat? It is easy to destroy most of the cities in the enemy nation, but very hard to stop retaliation.

PROF. POWELL: The knowledge of how to produce such weapons can never be destroyed. The temptation to use them would be almost irresistible in the face of defeat, and there is always the risk of local conflicts. Mankind must set itself the task of eliminating all wars, including local wars."

Clean bomb

KEITH POWELL: *Does any member of the panel think that, if the knowledge of the "clean" bomb were to spread, extra testing might be required? Might they be used in the war instead of "dirty" ones, because the victor would want something left?*

DR. LINUS PAULING: We know how to make "clean" bombs, but they can easily be converted to "dirty" bombs. We are, in fact, removing bombs from our stockpile to make them "dirty." It is completely incompatible with the nature of war to expect that "clean" bombs would be used rather than the more effective so-called "dirty" bombs.

KEITH POWELL: *Mere disarmament is not enough because it would not take long for the big industrial powers to have nuclear weapons again. So what conclusion do you draw from that about, say, this organisation?*

PROF. POWELL: Our philosophy is this: That this situation is one in which war must be abandoned. It presents us with a very difficult technical problem. It would be very good to begin by limited agreements in very narrow fields in order that, properly implemented, the could grow to a mutual trust between the nations which does not yet exist. We suggest tentatively an agreement to abandon tests under a satisfactory system of controls as the first



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An agreement might be reached between them on the basis of an independent Algerian republic where all citizens would have the same rights and opportunities whatever their racial origin. Integration can only take place within Algeria and not between Algeria and France.

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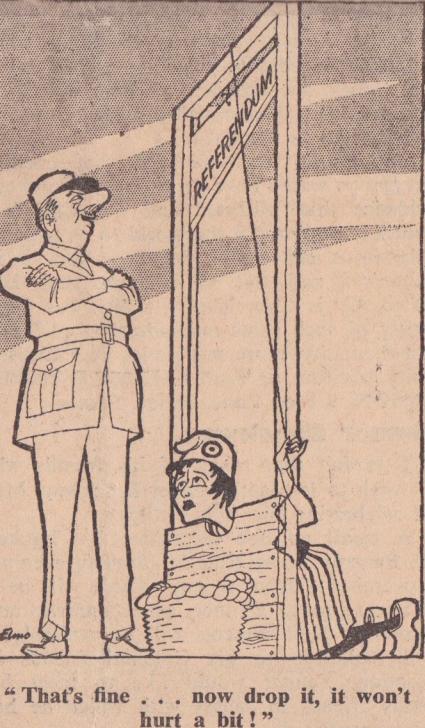
THE history of mankind is prolific in instances of force being used under the shelter of the argument that the other side ought not to use it, and must be prevented by force.

A contention that the nature of the dispute does not warrant the use of force, naturally brings up the whole question as to what kind of dispute does, in fact, excuse or justify force in the minds of those who use it.

Most nations in the past, and even today, constitute themselves as their own judge in such decisions, and do not bring the matter before any jury for a verdict; notably, so far as Britain is concerned, in the recent Suez conflict, and landing of British troops in Jordan.

Resort to the use of force is, in fact, accepted by the majority in the world today. The really thorny and difficult disputes are seldom dealt with by negotiation until after force has been used, since in spite of continued lip service to the United Nations Assembly and Security Council, mobilisation of troops and aircraft is still the first move, when policies involve apparently irreconcilable points of view.

"A war to end wars" was perhaps, the



By Sybil Morrison FORCE TO END FORCE

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first time that a paradoxical slogan was used as a declared reason for undertaking a particular war policy. The fact that it was not only a contradiction in terms, but a physical impossibility unless the victorious side retained such enormous powers that no other nation could, or would, ever attempt to overthrow them was never argued, and possibly not even noticed in the middle of the stresses and anxieties of war.

The world of course, has known of periods when war was absent through the rule of powerful conquerors; Pax Romana and Pax Britannica may be cited by some as periods of prosperity and peace, but it is doubtful if the peoples subject to those all-powerful Governments, without representa-

tives faced with the possibility of a world wide catastrophe of unprecedented magnitude. It is very likely that the total population of the northern and perhaps the southern hemisphere would be exterminated."

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Continued next week

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Disputes about territory are, perhaps, the most explosive of all questions, and it is quite usual, as in the case of Formosa, to leave the matter festering for years, instead of attempting to treat the sore for the purpose of curing it, until suddenly it comes violently to a head.

It is an unpleasant piece of casuistry for the Prime Minister to assert that Britain has no obligation or commitment to support the U.S.A. in Formosa, and yet to say that it supports the "American position," which appears to be one of denunciation of force, while indicating by all possible means, willingness and ability, if not intention, to use it.

When nations recognise the futility, let alone immorality, of such actions mankind may begin to believe in the possibility of lasting peace.

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BRITAIN is drifting to destruction and defeat.

Destruction, because no serious observer could put the odds about nuclear war in 1959 at anything better than fifty-to-one against. This corresponds fairly well with our feelings of relative immediate security. But fairly good chances that the nuclear war probably won't happen in 1959 or 1960 or 1961 create in the end an appallingly bad chance that it probably will happen some time in the coming century.

Defeat, because we now have to meet a challenge for which there is no precedent in history. It is directed against us not only at the military, but at the economic, political and social level at the same time. Far too many people talk and think and feel as if military weapons were the only things that we have to take into account as we try to fit ourselves to meet the Communist challenge.

Policy and risk

If we were now engaged in military war against the Communists with the weapons and strategy of 1914-18, so that an entrenched battle line stretched from Baltic to Mediterranean, and if this line were being steadily driven back, say, at an average rate of a hundred miles a year, we would be thinking of almost nothing else. All public attention would be focussed on it. Every newspaper and every serious citizen would be anxiously discussing the prospects. But none of this happens when we are steadily falling back on the economic, social and political front. Hardly anyone even considers the ways in which we might do better.

If these dangers are to be met, Britain must have a policy adequate to them.

Abandonment of nuclear weapons is the first essential of such a policy.

This involves risk, but it is not possible to make a choice which does not involve risk. The policy of our leaders is as much a choice as any other policy. And it is the policy most likely to lead to death for our people and for their ideals.

Nuclear war

The pre-war years should have warned us of this, for the lesson of the 1930's is just this: that our leaders by their timidity eventually brought us to almost certain destruction.

In 1939 they led us into a war which we were bound to lose. The fact that in the end it also chanced that we emerged with military victory does not affect the judgment. But it will be our stupidity, not theirs', if we allow them to do the same sort of thing all over again.

We must learn the lesson of the thirties, take our eyes off the next couple of years, look right down to the end of the course which we are pursuing now.

Labour movement. As the Labour Party became more committed to the cold war and as the H-bomb has become the most important weapon in that cold war, the 1945 promise of building a new world has declined into the desperate pursuit of "moderation" and the "floating vote."

This acceptance of the H-bomb has more than anything else undermined the moral appeal which has been the traditional basis of the best of British socialism. At the last Labour party Conference many references were made to Keir Hardie.

These references were more than a nostalgic recalling of a great figure in the history of British socialism. They were an appeal for a return to the moral concern symbolised by Keir Hardie. Bertrand Russell has expressed his sense of this in his preface to Emrys Hughes' "Labour and the H-bomb."* He has written

"I can remember the first arrival of Keir Hardie in the House of Commons. His fervour and uncalculating advocacy of what he thought right created a large part of the momentum which gave rise to the power and success of the Labour Party. If the Labour Party is going to condone abominations in order to win a point in arguments of realpolitik with tough Russians and Americans it will lose all the force which has given it life."

Loyalty to what?

Calls to loyalty and a closing of the ranks in face of face of a possible general election can be expected.

Those—and they are many—who regard the Labour Party as something more than a political vote-getting machine will feel the call of a more impelling loyalty: their loyalty to the sense of human brotherhood that brought them into the movement.

Mr. Bevan has described the advocates of unilateral nuclear disarmament as "enemies of the working class"

30 WAIT TO SEE PENNEY



PA photo, courtesy News Chronicle.

Some of the thirty picketers outside Aldermaston on Monday morning. Left are Dr. Donald Soper, Harold Steele and Pat Arrowsmith. Right: April Carter.

Most of them were planning to stay in the Atomic Weapons Plant car park day and night until 6 p.m. to-morrow in an endeavour to see the Director or his deputy.

"We hope to show the Director the strength of our belief that he personally has a great deal of responsibility for the work on weapons of mass destruction that is carried out in the establishment of which he is head," said April Carter, Secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

in Algeria those who want to continue it have accused the constitution of all the evils in order to hide the true reason for our difficulties.

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The Liberal Candidate for St. Albans, at

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